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Senate

The Senate met at 9:28 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Oh God of hope, who inspires in us authentic hope, we thank You for the incredible happiness we feel when we trust You completely. The expectation of Your timely interventions to help us gives us stability and serenity. It makes us bold and courageous, fearless and free. We agree with the psalmist, "Happy is he whose hope is in the Lord his God."—Psalm 146:5.

You have shown us that authentic hope always is rooted in Your faithfulness in keeping Your promises. We hear Your assurance, "Be not afraid, I am with you." We place our hope in Your problem-solving power, Your conflict-resolving presence, and Your anxiety-dissolving peace.

Father, the Senators and all who work with them face a busy day filled with challenges and opportunities. And in it all, we have a vibrant hope that You will inspire the spirit of patriotism that overcomes party spirit and the humility that makes possible dynamic unity. Give us hope for a truly great day of progress. In the Name of our Lord and Savior. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The acting majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, this morning there will be a period for morning business until 10 a.m. Following morning business, the Senate will resume consideration of the pending McCain amendment to the Interior appropriations bill for debate only

until noon. At noon, under a previous order, Senator FEINGOLD will be recognized to offer a motion to table the McCain amendment. If the amendment is not tabled, debate only will resume until 1:45 p.m., at which time the Senate will vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the McCain amendment. Following that vote, Senator GRAHAM of Florida will be recognized for up to 1 hour of morning business. Following the remarks of Senator GRAHAM, and assuming cloture was not invoked on the McCain amendment, the Senate will resume consideration of the Interior bill with amendments being offered and debated. Therefore, Members should expect rollcall votes throughout today's session, with the first vote occurring at approximately 12 noon.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ENZI). Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business, with the Senator from Kansas, Mr. BROWNBACK, recognized to speak until 10 a.m.

CALLING FOR THE RESIGNATION OF PRESIDENT CLINTON

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I rise today to address a subject that is both extraordinarily difficult and painful. In times of international turmoil, the Nation should rally behind our leaders, and we are in the midst of such times. But President Clinton's abdication of the duties of leadership has made this impossible. The report of the independent counsel is now under seal. When its contents are released to the Members of Congress, questions of criminal wrongdoing will unavoidably dominate this branch of government.

The Congress must determine whether the President will be impeached. I will not prejudge that question. As a Member of the body that will deliberate on this issue, I believe it is im-

portant to have access to all the evidence before reaching a conclusion on the issue of impeachment. Rather, I rise today to respectfully ask President Clinton to do the right thing for our country and resign from his office voluntarily.

There are three reasons why I believe this has become necessary at this point in time.

First, the President's conduct has all but destroyed his ability to lead as head of state and Commander in Chief.

Second, the President's actions have been corrosive to our national character and have debased the Office of the Presidency.

Third, President Clinton should spare our Nation the debilitating spectacle of impeachment hearings.

Over the last several weeks, we have witnessed the disastrous consequences abroad of diminished American leadership. There are some who have said that the President's conduct is purely a private matter. They are wrong. Private actions have public consequences. They do for all of us, but especially the President of the United States. In all of governance, but with foreign policy in particular, credibility is everything. Weakness is provocative; deceit can be deadly. When American foreign policy is unpredictable, our allies are unreliable, and tyrants are emboldened. These hypothetical dangers have become tragic realities.

Yesterday afternoon, I chaired a hearing on U.S. foreign policy in Iraq, for instance, and we heard from Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.N. Special Representative; James Woolsey, former CIA Director; and Lawrence Eagleburger, former Secretary of State. What we heard was deeply distressing. It appears that the President's policy toward Iraq consists of paying lipservice to the importance of comprehensive and unrestricted weapons inspections and then preventing the arms inspectors from carrying out their mission.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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Such abdication of leadership leaves Saddam Hussein free to build weapons of mass destruction, thus jeopardizing the security of our troops, our allies in the region, and ultimately the United States itself. Nor is Iraq the only nation that has thumbed its nose at a weakened United States.

Around the world, rogue nations are violating fundamental human rights, waging wars of aggression, and flouting international treaties. Our ability to deter these acts has been sadly compromised by an absence of leadership, a total lack of credibility. Enemies of our values and interests have judged the President's ability to lead the United States and have found it wanting. As a result, the world is a much more dangerous place.

Second, the President's actions have squandered his moral authority to lead at home. The problems of family breakdown and moral decay are the most significant that we face. Just one comes glaringly out into mind: that nearly 30 percent of our children born in this country are born to single moms, many of whom are teenagers having children.

Can the President, with the problems he has today, lead our fight in that area? The President cannot address these problems when he himself has contributed to the decay. One of the privileges and obligations of high office is to act as a role model for children. We need our President to set an example to be admired, not to be avoided. The President's ongoing adultery with an intern of barely legal age, misuse of the Oval Office, and repeated lies from he and his staff have done enormous damage to the body politic. Unfortunately, at the very time when most need strength, focused resolve, and moral leadership from our President, he has been unable to supply it. We live in a volatile world with very real dangers and very difficult problems. We cannot afford to let these dangers go unnoticed and problems unresolved by a President unable to lead.

I say all of this with great respect and with deep regret. President Clinton is a talented man who believes in America and has spent his life serving others.

Yet his immoral indiscretion, and months of lies to the Nation have tarnished his leadership ability beyond repair. None of us are without sin. But the high call of leadership demands a certain moral authority that by the President's own actions is now lost.

There is a final point to be made. Very soon the contents of the independent counsel's report will be made known publicly. The contents of this report will result in impeachment proceedings. Such hearings will surely take a heavy toll on the function of our government, on the trust invested in our civic institutions, and on the American people themselves. President Clinton could spare us this ordeal. He could quickly and decisively enable our Nation to put this sorry chapter in our

history behind us and to move on. But at this point there is only one way for him to do that. Sadly and reluctantly, I have concluded that the only way for us to move forward as a Nation is for the President to resign.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak on the issue of campaign finance reform, and that I be allowed to complete my statement even if it runs into the period designated for the campaign finance reform discussion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, this debate about the campaign finance bill is really about a single question, and that is what should determine the outcome of our Federal elections? Should money determine the outcome of our Federal elections or should instead we have those elections determined by a balanced discussion, a complete and a balanced discussion about the differences between the candidates and the different positions they are taking? Should it be money or should it be helpful information for voters? Should it be money or should it be a robust debate on issues?

The question that I just posed has been obscured because opponents of campaign finance reform are hiding behind what I believe are mistaken Supreme Court decisions, and in doing so they have tried to equate money and speech. They argue that money is speech, and therefore to limit money is to limit speech. They say that money means more robust debate. They say that more money means more helpful information for voters. They say that even more money means more complete and balanced discussion about the differences between the candidates.

In my view, this argument does not pass the laugh test. Any reasoned observer of our Federal campaigns knows that the argument is without merit. Ask any challenger to an incumbent Senator the following question: Have not the millions more in dollars that the incumbent has been spending on his or her reelection meant more robust debate? Have not the millions of dollars that the incumbent has been spending meant more helpful information to the voters and more complete and balanced discussion about the differences between the candidates? The challenger, I am sure, would laugh out loud at that notion.

Ask any voter who has been deluged with negative television advertisements funded by very large campaign war chests whether those TV ads have produced more robust debate and more helpful information for the voters and more complete and balanced discussion of the differences between the candidates. Again, those voters will think that you are crazy to even suggest that idea. The vast increase in money spent on political campaigns has not produced more robust debate. It has not produced more helpful information for voters and more complete and balanced discussion about the differences between candidates.

More money has produced just exactly the opposite. Voters themselves will tell you that money does not equal speech. In fact, they will tell you that money is not speech and that money too often results in an undermining of our ability to meaningfully discuss issues in a campaign. They are very specific about this. Voters were surveyed by Princeton Survey Associates recently and those voters said that campaign money leads elected officials to spend too much time fundraising—63 percent of the public believes that; that money not speech determines the outcome of elections under the current system—52 percent of voters believe that.

Even more importantly, voters believe that campaign money gives one group more influence by keeping other groups from having their say in policy outcomes. They believe that campaign money keeps important legislation from being passed. They think campaign money leads elected officials to support policies that even those elected officials do not think are in the best interests of the country. And finally, the public believes that campaign money leads elected officials to vote against the interests of their own constituents, the people who have sent them to Congress to represent them.

Let me add parenthetically that in this very Senate session the killing of the tobacco bill in June, Congress' refusal now to even consider serious HMO reform in the Senate, these are recent vindications of the people's beliefs about the effects of money on our policymaking efforts.

So the argument by opponents of campaign finance reform that money is speech and that it should in no way be limited simply does not pass the laugh test with the American people. People are right that we desperately need to reform our campaign finance system. We need to reduce the amount of money raised and spent in our campaigns. We need to increase the amount of robust debate and helpful information that we provide to voters. We need to increase the discussion, the complete discussion about differences between candidates on issues of importance to the people.

The modified McCain-Feingold campaign reform bill offered to the Senate today is a big step in that direction. It